

MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES

ASEAN+3: THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ASIAN VALUES

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In the wake of the 1997-1998 Asian economic crisis, the leaders of East Asia came together to establish the ASEAN+3 forum: a forum to accommodate thirteen countries, heterogeneous in nature, with diverse political, economic, social, and cultural backgrounds. Some political scientists interpreted the establishment of the ASEAN+3 as the emergence of a new form of regionalism. This new regionalism represents a clear break from the region's strong history of multilateralism. The countries of East Asia have also been exploring ways of expanding intra-regional trade, including the establishment of regional trade agreements (RTAs) such as the ASEAN+3, planning to establish an East Asia Free Trade Area (EAFTA), as well as negotiating bilateral trade agreements (BTAs). This thesis hypothesizes that the philosophy of Asian values and the 1997-1998 Asian economic crisis stimulated the creation of the ASEAN+3. It is important to understand this philosophy for it is likely to influence the ASEAN+3 in the future. The understanding of whether the Asian economic crisis spurred the creation of the ASEAN+3 is crucial to determine whether the ASEAN+3 will play an economic role in the region.

KEYWORDS: ASEAN+3, Asian Values, Asian Economic Crisis, Asian Economic Development Model, East Asia Free Trade Area, EAFTA, Crony Capitalism, ASEAN Way, Politics of Resentment

RECONCILIATION IS THE BEST SOLUTION FOR CONFLICT IN ACEH

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The history of the conflict in Aceh began in the pre-colonial era, during which the Acehnese struggled to fight the Dutch for more than three centuries. The conflict between the Indonesian central government and the GAM (Free Aceh Movement) has continued for the last three decades. The GAM has been able to develop and improve its struggle using conventional and modified guerilla tactics. The GAM leadership in exile utilizes central government and military weaknesses to their advantage, including the collapse of the strong authoritarian government in 1998 and the independence of East Timor afterward. They succeed in exploiting the populace's grievances in order to create enemy image of Indonesian colonialism in Aceh. The central government and military responses to confront conflict in Aceh have never changed much, and the military has always been the primary option. Though military operations have been able to suppress the rebels, they have also had a negative impact on Acehnese society due to weaknesses within the military, such as less professional soldiers and a limited budget. Dialogue between the GAM and the central government took place in 1999, but ended in failure in 2003, and the central government launched an integrated operation. As the rebel movement escalates, military action that led to the integrated operation was necessary and unavoidable to restore the government system and public law and order. Nevertheless, with the lessons learned from the past rebellion, the merely military option would not be sufficient to win the war in Aceh. Aceh needs more comprehensive policies, starting with reconciliation followed by economic and governance rehabilitations. The required prerequisites for reconciliation are ending the hostilities between leaders and giving more incentives for rebels in the field to surrender. The latter needs the trust that can be built by granting amnesty or sentence reduction to ex-rebels. At the same time, internal

improvements should also be made within the military to foster better performance. Reconciliation and societal development do not need to halt military action as long as the security of the Acehnese and public order are still threatened.

KEYWORDS: Aceh, GAM, Free Aceh Movement

ISLAM AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN MALAYSIA

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Muslim countries are often thought of as culturally backward, authoritarian, misogynistic, and poor in economic performance. The teachings of Islam, however, prescribe democratic governance and free-market economics. While Muslims, as a whole, have tremendous economic potential, many Muslims are among the world's poorest and least educated. Corrupt autocratic leaders have attempted to capitalize on the Muslim dream of building a grand society, but owing to these manipulations and leaders' insincerity, their efforts have yielded little fruitful results.

This thesis discusses nation building by fusing Islam, pluralism, democracy, and modernity. It argues that Malaysia's religious tolerance and adherence to western development models has fostered economic growth since its independence. Clearly, practicing Islam while pursuing social, economic, and political development, is a suitable model, especially for heterogeneous societies.

The thesis offers a model, Malaysia, as a unique example of the influence of Islamic universalism, multiculturalism, and Islamic modernism to improve economic growth. The thesis depicts the evolutionary transformation of Malay-Islam, from its settlement to its status as a model for Muslims and Third World countries. This thesis illustrates the compatibility of Islam and modernity in economic development.

KEYWORDS: Islam, Economic Growth, Affirmative Action Program, Malaysia's Development Model, Islamic Universalism, Multiculturalism, Islamic Modernism, Islam and Modernity

THE POLITICS OF MERITOCRACY IN MALAYSIA

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The effort to achieve development in Malaysia raises the question of how to develop a country where inequality between racial groups is significant. Of the various efforts made to achieve this goal, the most important is the New Economic Policy (NEP), a corrective policy designed to assist the Malays in socio-economic development. In essence, this was an affirmative action policy for a majority of the population that was economically behind the minority Chinese-Malaysians.

However, the racial-oriented policy cannot respond effectively to the new problem of intra-racial inequality, which results from the policy itself. Although sustained through the rhetoric of racial equality, the NEP has created other implications, namely the intra-racial inequality and an uncompetitive community.

In order to develop a more competitive economy, a meritocratic system emphasizing personal contributions rather than privileges should be investigated. This paper weighs the merits of affirmative action policies and meritocracy as approaches to national integration in Malaysia, and subsequently towards Malaysia's goal to be a fully industrialized country by 2020.

This study finds that, due to the continuance of inter-racial disparity, Malaysian society is not prepared to implement total meritocracy within the next few years. The thesis identifies various steps needed to "level the playing field," which will require firm decisions by the government and sacrifices by the population.

KEYWORDS: Meritocracy, Affirmative Action Policies, New Economic Policies, Equality of Opportunity, National Integration

POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT IN THE SPRATLY ISLANDS

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This thesis examines the potential for conflict in the Spratly Islands, and determines whether the Declaration of Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, signed between China and ASEAN on 4 November 2002, together with ASEAN's multilateral confidence building measures and mechanisms, are able to prevent or manage this dispute. China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei have laid claims on some or all of the islands. Many scholars have argued that the economic and strategic value of the Spratly Islands underlay competing claims in the Spratlys. In response to this, ASEAN is using Track I and II diplomacies to pursue solutions and confidence-building measures to prevent the dispute from escalating into a conflict in the region. All claimants except Taiwan are signatories. Can this dispute be resolved without Taiwan's participation? This study concludes that this is a multilateral dispute that needs to be solved multilaterally by all the claimants. However, unless all the signatories adhere to the principles of the Declaration of Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, no guarantee exists that this can prevent claimants from taking unilateral actions.

KEYWORDS: Spratlys, Spratly Islands, South China Sea, Declaration of Conduct of Parties, ASEAN, Track I and II Diplomacies, Multilateral, Confidence-Building Measures

THE CAUSES AND PROSPECT OF THE SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES SECESSIONIST MOVEMENT

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The Southern Philippines secessionist movement has developed once again into a major security concern of the Republic of the Philippines. The hostilities have taken a heavy toll on the nation's human and physical resources and hurt to the nation's economy. Likewise, the rebellion has afflicted both regional and global security because of the reported linkages of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf with the Islamic militant groups. The United States has already directly intervened in the Philippine counter-terrorism campaign, by providing military assistance and deploying American combat troops in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

Peace remains elusive. Various administrations have used combinations of military, political, diplomatic, and socio-economic instruments to resolve the conflict, but the violence persists. The presidential regime of Fidel Ramos appeared to have achieved a breakthrough in finding a lasting solution by assiduously instituting the policies of decentralization and regional autonomy. Although the government has settled the dispute with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), other equally dangerous groups, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Abu Sayyaf, have emerged espousing independence from the Republic of the Philippines.

This thesis will analyze the issues and prospects surrounding the Muslim secessionist movements in the Philippines and will examine the responses to resolve the grievances of the Muslim Filipinos.

KEYWORDS: Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, ARMM, Moro National Liberation Front, MNLF, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, MILF, Abu Sayyaf

**GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: THE INTERPLAY OF HUMAN CAPITAL, SCARCE RESOURCES,
AND SOCIAL COHESION**

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In 1994, the Rwandan genocide stunned the international community. The brutality of its execution was incomprehensible and defied one's wildest imagination. Many authors contend that ethnic extremism coupled with political manipulation were the primary factors behind this tragedy. Yet, to oversimplify the cause of this tragedy makes one blind to the complicated nexus that generated the outcome. Even though this genocide was quick in its execution, the events that lead to this massacre took years to unfold. The first violent clash between the Hutu and the Tutsi began in 1959. Historically, the relationship between Hutus and Tutsis was harmonious until the advent of Belgian colonialism, which imposed a system that benefited the Tutsi and victimized the Hutu. The Hutu disaffection with the system did not immediately translate into conflict. It was only when they were educated about their misfortunes and inequities that they rose up violently against the injustice. Unfortunately, they perpetrated a ghastly butchery of innocents. The nature of the Rwandan society, where people lived close to each other, knew their neighbors very well, and had an element of blind obedience toward authority, served the agenda of the genocide perpetrators. These factors, when compounded with intense competition for limited resources, eventually led to the aforementioned tragedy.

KEYWORDS: Genocide, Human Capital, Education, Ethnic Conflict, Post-Conflict, Resources, Land Pressure, Land Tenure, Social Cohesion and Social Capital

PERPETUAL WAR: THE PHILIPPINE INSURGENCIES

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The Philippines is afflicted by two of the longest running insurgencies in the world. The communist New People's Army (NPA) have been fighting to establish a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist state since 1969. The Muslim separatist movements, represented by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and a break away faction, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), have been fighting a rebellion since 1973. Although the government and the MNLF signed a peace agreement in 1996, violence continues to erupt on the island of Mindanao, where the Muslim population is concentrated. The resources spent on these insurgencies are a heavy burden on the Philippine economy, and the unstable peace and order conditions created by it have kept the country's economic performance far below that of its regional neighbors. These conflicts could have been settled earlier and the Philippines could have devoted more time and resources to resolving the economic causes which drove the insurgencies in the first place.

Why these conflicts managed not only to survive, but to recover, is the subject of this thesis. How the government responded to these internal challenges, what strategy the rebels adapted, and the intervention of third parties partly explain why these insurgencies have been active for more than three decades.

KEYWORDS: Conflict Termination, Counterinsurgency, Post-Colonial Development

**STRATEGIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH KOREA:
DETERRENCE OR SECURITY DILEMMA?**

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Worried about the regional and global consequences of a nuclear North Korea, the U.S. government has pursued both diplomacy and coercion to stop North Korea's nuclear weapons program. However, as of December 2003, U.S. policies appear to have failed, since North Korea has become the ninth nuclear weapons state. Since North Korea's motives have been ambiguous from the very beginning, the United States has had difficulty in developing strategies that would effectively address North Korea's motives and curtail its nuclear ambitions. This thesis argues that although North Korea has ambitious motives, its nuclear efforts are mostly reactions driven by insecurity. Coercive policies towards North Korea increase its insecurity and compel it to resort to nuclear weapons. The United States perceives North Korea's reactions as blackmail since North Korea combines its economic and political problems with its security concerns. Mutual distrust and insecurity, which is mostly a result of misperceptions, creates a security dilemma, a vicious spiral in which the security interests of the two states are mutually threatened by each other's self-protection aspirations. Cooperation, rather than coercion, is believed to work better in such cases. However, both sides should separate nuclear issues from other issues to reduce mutual distrust and misperceptions and to achieve effective cooperation.

KEYWORDS: North Korea's Nuclear Program, U.S. Policies Towards North Korea, Deterrence, Security Dilemma